1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

son. In this way certain *veins* within each *bone* manage to control the seats of that *bone* within the council of the great, but if a man of great ability arises in a *vein* of eligible standing which has not previously sent a representative, the old men may be forced by expediency to send him rather than a member of their own *vein*, who may be of mediocre ability. Sometimes, however, a councillor is chosen who is exceptionally stupid and incapable of expressing himself well in deliberations. Such a councillor is chosen for his physical strength and fighting ability, since deliberations of these bodies often end in pitched battles; two or three intelligent men may be enough to bear the brunt of the mental labor involved, and the others can serve as valuable henchmen in a crisis.[1]

The council of the great meets in the common mosque of the *canton*, under the olive trees by a stream, in the house of one of its members, in market (see plate 30), or wherever it pleases the members to convene. The councillors elect a *mokaddem* as moderator and spokesman.

The councillors of each *canton* in the tribe go together, in time of crisis, to a place agreed upon, called the *ayarau* (which means also "tribal council"). This meeting place has no fixed locality, but depends upon mutual convenience. The councillors enter by groups and sit down on the ground huddled together, the various groups forming a circle. Each *fifth* occupies a section of the circle and its councils of *cantons* are contiguous. The moderator of each council talks, generally in a whisper, to its members, until a common attitude in regard to the subject of the meeting is agreed upon. The moderator now having, as it were, received the instructions of his constituency, approaches the center of the circle, where he squats down with the other moderators in a nuclear circle. The councillors left on the outer ring finger their rifles and generally express their readiness to defend their spokesman in case he enters into a violent argument; the moderators likewise hold their gun butts against the ground with their fingers clasping the trigger guard. They discuss the matter at hand, all talking at once or whenever they please, since there is no chief moderator at this meeting, and for one member to bid another be silent would be considered ample excuse for murder. The moderators of a *fifth* usually agree within themselves, and the argument soon devolves into consideration of how many *fifths* favor one opinion and how many the other. A moderator of one *fifth* may lead aside an influential moderator of another and whisper to him outside the ring of councillors, trying to win him over to his way of thinking by arguments and promises of bribery. If the moderator so entreated succumbs to this persuasion he returns to the central ring and tries to change the attitude of the other representatives of his *fifth*. In this way the parley goes on and on until an unanimous decision is reached or until the councillors begin fighting between themselves and the meeting breaks up in a battle. In the latter case the opponents form martial alliances, and the fight continues until one side has been defeated and made to pay an indemnity to the other. Even when the tribal council ends peacefully it often takes a week or more before an agreement is reached.

We thus see that the deliberative bodies in Riffian government are really composed of but two sets of members, the village council composed of adolescents who handle the small

[1] During the combats with Spain in the last three decades, certain councillors have arisen from time to time who have acted as virtual dictators. Among these were Moh Aserkan of the Beni Urriaghel, Hajj Bukkeish of the Gaennaya, and, more widely known than the others, Abd el Krim. The rise of such dictators is psychologically un-Riffian; in these cases it was brought about by too late a realization of the necessity of union against a common foe.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

623 affairs of the *bone* and the council of the great, composed of councillors who concern themselves with the problems of the *canton* and go together to take part in the tribal council in which the function of the *fifth* is to divide the councillors into preliminary alliances.

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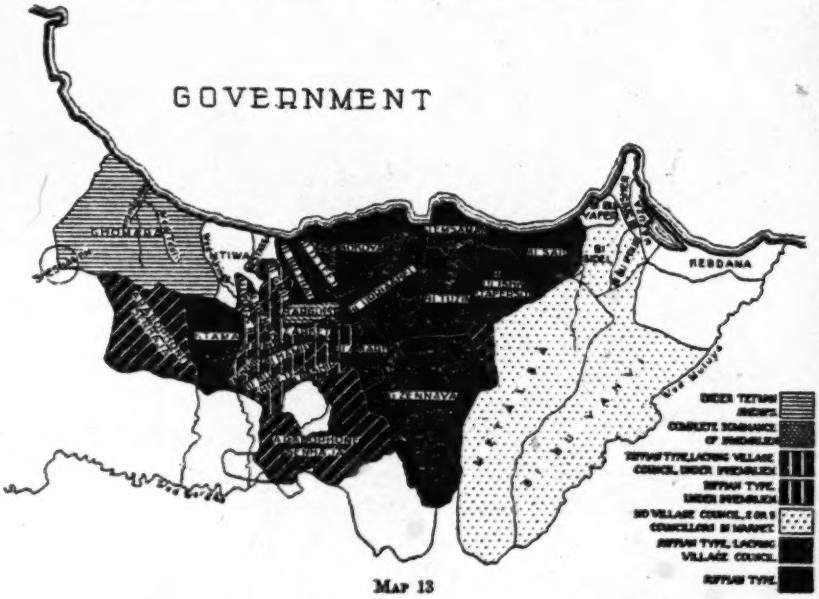
The type of government just described is limited to the tribes of Beni Said, Beni Ulishk, Tafersit, Temsaman, Beni Tuzin, Gsennaya, Beni Urriaghel, Bokoya, Beni Ittefi, Beni Bu Frah, most of Beni Amart (exclusive of the region immediately contiguous with Zarket and Beni Mesduy), and, curiously enough, the Senhajan tribe of Ktama.



MAP 13

619 The following tribes or parts of tribes have the same sort of government, except that the village council is lacking, the minor duties accomplished by it in other regions being neglected or else taken over by the council of the great: the Asht Dris of Metalsa; Marnissa, Fenassa, Ulad Azam, Beni Kora, Bu Adl, Khunduktamda, Zrarka, Beni Krama, and Beni Wenjin, from the Eastern Arabophone Senhaja; and all the Western Arabophone Senhaja.

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In Targuist is the center of the temporal authority of the marabutic family of Ikhemrijen, who have absolute political control of that tribe, as well as of the northwesterly portion of Beni Mesduy; in Zarket, in the rest of Beni Mesduy, which counts with it, in Beni Hamid, Beni Bu Shibet, Beni Beshir, Beni Berber, Taghzuth, Beni Bu Nsar, Beni Khennus, Beni Seddath, and Beni Gmil, the same type of government as that described in the previous paragraph obtains except that the Ikhemrijen dictate to the councils what they shall do, and in fact keep the moderators of these bodies practically in vassalage. In these tribes

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

623 The councillors go in a body, taking with them twenty or more girls adept at singing and dancing, hired musicians, a bull or cow, two or three mules laden with bread, and quantities of tea, sugar, and candles. The cost of the presents and the fees of the musicians are paid out of money collected in fines.

DUTIES OF THE TRIBAL COUNCIL

646 692 The task of the tribal council is to render judgment, exact fines, and destroy property in cases of adultery caught in the act, murder, and woundings; to make decisions as to tribal alliances in warfare; and to interfere with internal fights in other tribes.

Adultery caught in the act. A husband who surprises his wife in the act of adultery has 684 the traditional privilege of killing the man, removing his genitals and placing them in the mouth of his corpse, killing his wife, and ripping her from pubis to diaphragm with a knife. 837 This action is a privilege and not a duty. Many husbands are physically unable to do so; others are disinclined; still others mutilate their wives by cutting off the fleshy parts of their noses and let them go. One instance is known in Gzennaya of a man who thrust live coals into his wife's vagina and then released her. In at least half the cases, recently at any rate, no revenge is taken on the woman, her divorce and disgrace being considered ample punishment.

When the members of the tribal council hear of this event, they leave whatever they are 646 doing and go as rapidly as possible to the adulterer's house. This they burn; they impose a 684 fine of one thousand dollars or thereabouts, depending on the usage of the tribe, and on the importance of the *bone*. The fine is accepted either in cash, livestock, land, or in all three. 692 When land and livestock are taken they are sold on the spot, not by bidding but by arbitrary prices, fair to the victim, placed on each animal or portion of land. If the proceeds of the sale exceed the amount of the fine, the balance is returned to the *bone* of the adulterer. If the adulterer and the adulteress belong to different *bones* the burden of the fine is shared between the *bones*. If the adulterer has survived the vengeance of the injured man he must T586 leave the tribe forever. Women who survive go back to their families, forcibly divorced and forbidden to marry again.

After the cash of the fine is in hand, it is divided among the *fifths*, each receiving an 684 equal share, to be divided evenly among each *canton* composing the *fifth*. Thus the *canton* of the offenders receives back a portion of the money which some of its members have paid. It often refuses to accept this, in which case the money goes to the actual payers. *Cantons* friendly with that of the adulterer may likewise refuse to accept, and their money too is returned.

646 *Wounding.* When one man wounds another, the tribal council comes to the offender's 692 house and exacts a fine of five hundred dollars after questioning the councillor or councillors 683 belonging to the offending *bone*. The fine is always paid by the *bone* as a whole, whether the blood money is or not.

646 *Murder.* When one man murders another, whether or not in retaliation for a previous murder, the tribal council comes to his house, which it burns, providing it dares to. It cuts 692 down the fruit trees and inflicts a fine of a thousand dollars. If the man and his *bone* refuse 683 to pay the fine and resist the burning of the house or the cutting of the trees, the members 621 of the tribal council attack them. This fight may last anywhere from a half hour to several months, and may turn into a war. If the *bone* which has refused has no allies, it seldom wins,

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

but there are few *bones* without allies. The allies in the tribal council draw apart as inconspicuously and as quickly as possible and start shooting at the rest of the tribal council. The *bone* which has refused sends messengers to talk with various councillors and to persuade them to join their side, promising money and women. In this way there are generally two sides fighting each other before the day is over, and they stay there and fight until one side has won. If the tribal council wins and succeeds in burning the house of the murderer, it burns the rest of the houses of the *bone* as well, and cuts down as many of its trees as it desires.

The *bone* then flees in a body to another *fifth*, to another tribe, or out of the Rif entirely. If the members, thinking already of vengeance, cannot stand the sight of their trees being cut down and their houses being caved in, they select a bull from the herd which they are driving into exile with them and entrust it to the leader of the mosque or to a student, who leads it back into the presence of the tribal council and slaughters it there. If this is done the tribal council is compelled to let them go back again and to permit them to pay the fine. Once the bull is slaughtered the tree-cutting and other destruction must cease. Many *bones* are too proud either to pay or to send a bull, so that they become destitute and homeless through their pride, providing they are not strong enough to defend themselves against the tribal council.

A *bone* may thus be expelled from a tribe, permanently or temporarily. A *bone* which is continually making trouble and causing feuds may be the subject of a special meeting of the tribal council, which decides to exile it from the tribe either permanently or for a given number of years. Killing people on Mohammedan feast days or during the month of Ramadan is one of the strongest reasons for the expulsion of a *bone*.

This habit of exiling *bones* has been going on for so long that there are today numerous colonies of exiled Riffians living outside the Rif. Such are colonies of Beni Urriaghel in Oran and in Tangier; of Beni Amart in Ain Leuh, on the Wergha; of Beni Amart and Beni Hadifa at Arneila, on Wed Teheris; of Beni Tuzin at Zerhoun; of Temjunt of Gzennaya in Ain Mediuna (Beni Gzin); of Beni Yunes of Gzennaya at el Kob, in the Senhajan tribe of Beni Ulid; and the Ulad Abd el Mumen of Iherrushen of Gzennaya at el Mta outside of Fez. Most of these exiles could now go back if they so wished, but they have been away for so long, in many cases for generations, that they no longer have any desire to return.

Sometimes a murder spreads into a feud and from a feud into a war so rapidly that before a tribal council can come together to deliberate the councillors find themselves fighting on one side or another, in a tribal war.

Murder often leads to immediate revenge, and immediate revenge to a feud between *bones*. The feud may be a bitter one, in fact a pitched battle, in which may join other *bones* allied of old to one or other of the principal combatants. Most allies, however, are made anew on the occasion of each war. An alliance is called *liff*; it belongs more properly under the heading of magic than under that of political organization, but must be discussed at this point if the complexities of Riffian warfare are to be understood.

A *liff* is a shame-compulsion laid by one *bone* on another, a magical act which forces the second *bone* into alliance with, or at least toleration of, the other. By making *liff* with a number of other *bones*, a *bone* may increase its fighting force many times, and by both sides industriously making *liff* with others, a general war starts, in which there may not remain enough of the tribal council to make its convening worth while.

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793 the fqih, fed by turn (nubth), receives one-fifth of the yield of the land in habus, the "rich widow"[97], and the others get what falls to them gratuitously. In the amarras or storehouse/silo guardian of
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184 the Eastern Rif[98], we see another functionary of the jma'th, who,
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624 through the asuqi (25 kilos for 4 mudd, or measurements of barley)[99], was in charge of the preparation and custody of individual silos in fixed places, called ma'ar, which came to represent, for Rifians, the collective storehouses of agadir-s (whence the place name Ajdir, existing in both the tribes of Aith Waryaghar and Igzinnayen) of the Moroccan South[100].

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[623] The iziddjifen or family heads were the real directing nucleus of the jma'th; and in the clan, the governing body was made up of the imqqranen or "big ones", who habitually met, with legislative and executive functions, in the market. The clan delegates were collectively known as the Aith-(th)arba'in, and the meeting itself, the agrau (pl. igrawn), of the tribe. The Aith(th)arba'in were unappealable. Fqih-s and men of law were mediators, collectors or executors.
646 The Aith(th)arba'in, however, made the laws, interpreted them, and obliged people to obey them, without discussion, backtalk or subterfuge. This was a true form of popular representation, the powers of which, although they did not emanate directly from the people in many cases, or through a European-style elective system, were indirectly derived from, and with the tacit consent of, their constituents..... It is a rare person who can produce a document which accredits him as a popular (author's italics) representative, either circumstantial or permanent, but, nevertheless, no one with a better title or more

646 authority could obtain for himself by entreaty the representation of
646 popular sovereignty. This representation gives him social prestige,
554 a prestige which in the Rif can only be won through bravery, ability or wealth. Beside it, the religious power, also represented by virtuous men, served most of the time only to decorate by their persons, to legalize by their presence, and to preserve with their spiritual power the most solemn agreements. Once such prestige was acquired, it could even be consecrated, as it were, in a written title (such as the Qanun of Lower Thamasint), but this meant ultimately the beginning of personal power and the abandonment of a democratic organization[101].....Such representation won through the personal courage and effort of those who wanted it was given a measure of authority and permanence, a fact which obliges (1935) extraordinary prudence in Spanish nominations of tribal notables--for the original lack of prestige of most functionaries of the Makhzin follows them all their lives as a shadow follows a body.....In a tribe which I
[123] once administered there appeared a new qa'id. The news reached me,
[124] and I wanted to find out in a superficial manner how the nomination had been received; but wherever and whenever I mentioned the word "qa'id", the people I talked to called the man amzir, or "blacksmith"--the Rifian is a master when it comes to establishing social categories!.....Another typical case: among the Aith Waryaghar it was very common in an agrau or council meeting for one of those attending to get to his feet suddenly and express his own opinion at an opportune moment. The igrawn were popular assemblies and many people attended them, each man coming armed and gesticulating with his rifle,

646 554 although not all of them with the same degree of forcefulness. Anyone may speak, although the majority, as elsewhere, are silent. A spontaneous speaker caused the same sensation, stupor and curiosity as those like him in Spain do in the bull-ring, and the result was almost the same. An amqqran or councilmember interrupted him, saying "You here, you have just made the gesture of a stupid idiot," and the poor man, reddened and embarrassed, was silent amid general noise and quarreling, which the ingenious councilmember smilingly recalled in later years.....Another incident: once a man whom I did not know was proposed to me as a candidate for a position of tribal authority, and I wanted to find out about him. I began a series of questions and reflections regarding the virtues which anyone nominated would have to possess, such as honor, ability, etc. I was, however, surprised to find the person to whom I was talking interrupt me, saying quickly, "No, no, no! You think he is like So-and-so?" (And So-and-so was a very short-statured men, as I myself am.) "Not at all, he is thus!" With this the speaker, a big, fat fellow, raised his shoulders up with a graphic gesture, thumping his chest and laughing, saying that nobody could willingly argue about his own authority.

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Among Rifians, then, names of tribal functionaries seem literally and faithfully to interpret the idea of the function involved, as amghar and amqqran both convey the idea of "big, adult, old". This is reflected in the qanuns when, in reference to those attending a meeting, prior to inscribing a list of the names of the notables present, those who drew up the qanun in question were very

646 554 829 [671]

646 careful to state that all those at the convocation were the "majors"
554 and the "minors" (los grandes y pequeños)[102] of such and such a place.
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691 The written titles or nominations of functionaries, and the pompous Arabic names of qa'id, qadi and mqaddim, with which some men like to adorn their names in order to astonish simpletons and impress strangers, are only of value inside their own houses (author's italics), just as the titles of doctor and coronel formerly were in certain South
554 American republics! In the Rif, there was, in pre-'Abd al-Krim days, no qa'id and no qadi[103]; only imgharen and igrawn, iziddjifen, dharfiqin and turba, the last-mentioned being warlike amanuenses whose fingers are better suited to hilt or trigger than to pen, while the other names are the most definite external indices of the degree
554 of Islamization[104] of those who possess them. We will not speak here
648 of such fantastic personages as the bu-mwarith[105] or the ukil l-ghuyab[106] and other shadowy figures recently created by the Spanish protectoral administration, who will probably soon disappear if not taken proper care of!

623 6) Resume of Rifian Tribal Functionaries (given even though
646 Rifians tend to confuse them among themselves!):
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a) the iziddjifen, "headmen", or representatives of each dharfiqth, constituting the permanent council of the jma'th.

b) the imqqranen, "big ones" (or imgharen, pl. of amghar), the representatives elected by the jma'th (author's italics) for its own prestige, and the delegates of the latter territorial unit in the clan council, whose habitual meeting site was the market, and whose job it was to make the law.

c) the aith(th)arba'in, or "people of the forty"[107], delegates representing the clan in the tribal council or agrau, which convened when circumstances required it (danger external to the clan or to the tribe, or murder). In theory, there were eight delegates from each khums (in tribes, which, like Aith Aryaghar were divided into five khmas), but they were given the same name even if they totaled less than forty.[108]

d) the amghar n-suq, or "market chief"[109], a person who by virtue of his position or energy took care, with his kinsmen, of policing the market, of small incidents which might occur within it, etc.

e) the abarrah, or market crier.[110]

f) the amarras, or silo guardian (in the Eastern Rif only).

G) Free Professions (fragmentary):

a) Low Class Public Functionaries: criers and weighers in markets.

b) Free Professions: merchants, healers, weavers, carpenters and masons.

c) Lowest Scale: musicians and dancers.[111]

d) Ibarudiyen: real imqqranen, possibly the most highly regarded ones in the tribe. Invited to feasts, they enacted scenes of war. Generally, two of them faced each other and improvised dialogue, while firing off their rifles[112]. These ibarudiyen were the Rifian counterpart of dramatic actors; and even in this simple detail of lack of

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

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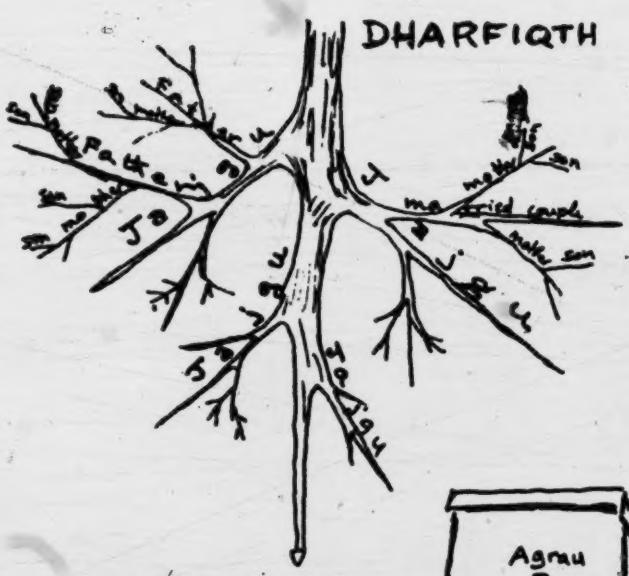

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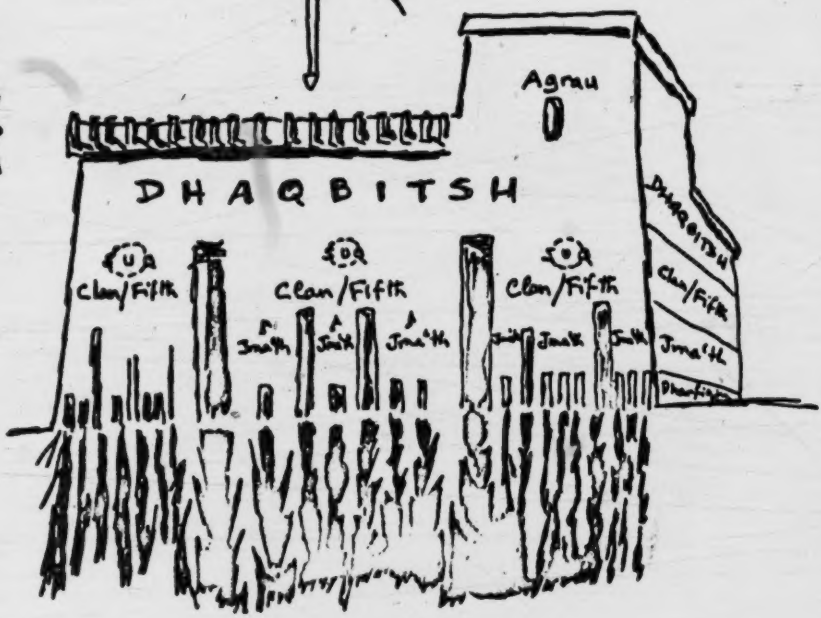

[P. 127-A]

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

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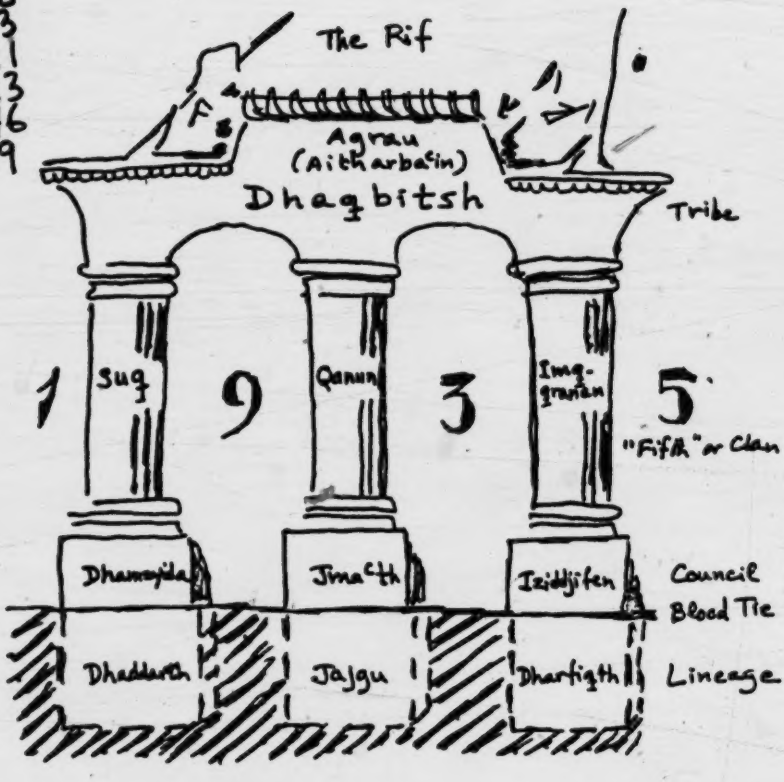

Diagram of Rifian Social Structure

[P. 127-B]

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organization, as in the settlement morphology and house distribution of their communities, we may discern the state of disintegration which the Rifian "republics" had attained, the individual rapaciousness of each one and the anarchy of its component parts.

Diagram of Rifian Social Structure[113]

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We see in this graphic representation of the principal units in Rifian social structure how these units are originated in the lineages (Sp. original, grupos familiares) whose three ascending categories of nuclear family (Sp. or hogar, R. nubth), lineage branch (jajgu) and lineage proper (dharfiqth), with genealogical relationship as their distinguishing characteristic, form the roots or base of the Rifian arch, as diagrammed here. On reaching ground level (in an upward direction), they become transformed into three other (larger) social units whose distinctive features are expressed above and the apex of which is the tribe (dhaqbitsh), which is bound together with its autonomous institutional parts by the institutional apex of the agrau, or tribal council, the maximal assembly in the region. This arch gives us an idea of the (relative) independence (autonomy?) of its columns, representing clans sustained by the nuclei of jma'ths; and all this gives us also an idea of the whole and of the harmony reigning between this whole and its different parts, of its consistency, of its solidity, and of the importance of all these factors.

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These jma'ths, the internal lives of which were regulated by the custom governing the original mountain jma'th, continued as tributaries of the latter[133], enjoying the benefits of such a status (participation in the collection of fines, contributions to the fqih)[134] until, as we have seen, the new nucleus, beginning to stand out more and more as a result of its growth, importance and distance from the parent jma'th, succeeded in emancipating itself from the latter through its own discords and ambitions.[135]

But it is difficult to determine at precisely what moment the new jma'th came of age, as it is to determining everything else, even including finding out the designations in nomenclature of its representatives. This designation is not that of amin, as among the Kabyles of Algeria, a word which, taken over from Arabic, is one which does not permit a confusion of its administrative significance, an individual function, with that of the jma'th, which has a collective mqaddim, a term also adopted from Arabic and employed by certain Berber groups in the Western Atlas, for the personage of the mqaddim also has that function as well as the inadmission of that of the shaikh, which more than one person in Aith Waryaghar attributes to himself and which figures even in documents. These terms, however, do not demonstrate any more than the anarchy which the people have attained, and the forgetting of their own racial (sic!) characteristics[136]; as such words among Rifians can have no meaning nor can they be given any importance greater than those of "colonel" and "doctor" in the South American republics. These are strange nicknames (sic), for to the Rifian, as to any Berber, they say nothing if they are to be considered

typical terms, like that of amghar, since the institution of the Aitharba'in, formerly an authentic democratic power, seems to have depreciated and is now dormant.

The traditional Rifian jma'th according to my way of thinking and to the results of my own investigations, is not limited to an administrative unit, but was rather the essential administrative, gubernatorial and judicial organ. The jma'th was the sovereign, such a wide concept, such an interesting collective entity and so little known to me that if I tried to define it precisely, now, at the present state of my knowledge, I would imagine the results to be erroneous.

Regarding the geographical regions considered in the order listed above, the Aith Waryaghar are reduced to three, which correspond approximately to the three qa'idates into which the tribe is divided: the region of the plan or the Qa'idate of I-Uta; the valley of the Upper Nkur River, or Qa'idate of the Nkur; and the valley of the Upper Ghis River, or Qa'idate of the Ghis[137]. Any other administrative division which might be made would not correspond with the same precision to the topography of Aith Waryaghar, for, in its geographical synthesis, this tribe is nothing more than the Ghis-Nkur watershed. If a greater fractionizing does not seem necessary from a geographical viewpoint, in order to maintain the subdivision of the tribe in its six present clans, five of them of ancient lineage and the sixth, that of the Jbil, imposed by necessity[138], with a shaikh at the head of each one because of the large territorial area which it covers, larger in some cases than that of other whole tribes, it is

623 116--This market was located in the exact center of the tribal territory of the Aith Waryaghar, at the point of convergence of all three qa'idates (1-Uta, Upper Ghis and Nkur) alluded to above, and all questions of import to the whole tribe were usually settled or decided there. Imgharen from all of Aith Waryaghar came to this market when the full tribal council was convoked.

The Sunday Market at Thisar has ceased to exist since the Spanish pacification of the Rif; the Spaniards moved it slightly north to Thamasind, a market, also held on Sundays, which is attended only by members of the immediate subsegments in the vicinity, and which is much smaller, in size and status, than its predecessor.

443 117--For more detailed descriptions of women's markets, see Andrés Sánchez Pérez, "Zocos de Mujeres en Beni Uriaguel", Africa, Madrid, May 1943, pp. 22-23, as well as two works of our own, D. M. Hart, "An Ethnographic Survey of the Rifian Tribe of Aith Waryaghar", Tamuda, vol. 2, no. 1, 1954, pp. 51-86, and "Emilio Blanco Izaga and the Berbers of the Central Rif", Tamuda, vol. 6, no. 2, 1958, pp. 171-237. (Specific references in the two latter cases are from pp. 80-1 and pp. 201-3 respectively).

Some recapitulation, however, is necessary for the purposes of the present work. Special women's markets, which men are forbidden to attend, are not uniquely Rifian, for they are also reported for the tribe of Ihahan on the Sus coast between Mogador and Agadir. Montagne (op. cit., 1930, pp. 251-2) thinks that because in both the Sus and in the Rif they are more or less confined to the coastal area, they may, through their rigid segregation of the sexes, reflect a greater degree of Islamization in these areas, for they are not to be found anywhere in the Atlas. Sánchez Pérez, who also cites the existence of women's markets in Ihahan, favors a diffusionist theory in accounting for their presence in such widely separated areas as the Rif and the Sus.

This kind of thinking must be relegated to the realm of idle speculation. More important, however, is the rationale which Sánchez Pérez gives for the existence of women's markets. He says that the Aith Waryaghar themselves cannot account for the origin of this phenomenon (which is true); but when he states that they ascribe it to the need for the continuance of commercial interchange during the Republik, when all segments and subsegments of the tribe were perpetually at feud, and when only women, as non-combatants, were respected and came, in effect, to handle normal business transactions during such emergencies, he is, I strongly suspect, putting words in their mouths. His argument falls of its own weight, for why, then, should regular weekly markets (i.e. non-women's markets) continue to function all through siba, as they did? He does not take into consideration the primary raison d'etre of the Rifian market, which Blanco correctly interprets as a "place of peace"; for market day was the one non-feuding day (with Friday, perhaps, a poor second) of the week!

443 562 The truth of the matter, very probably, is that because the men of the Aith Waryaghar have always zealously guarded their womenfolk and have never let them attend normal markets (although this has broken down somewhat as a result, possibly, of greater security

613 621 616 182 This internal equilibrium between dharfiqin was maintained, more than by the play of (within) the jma'th, by the liff alliance system which, linking tribes, clans, communities and lineages into two rival bands, created the miracle of permitting the existence of minuscule units of this type amongst others more powerful, although the clarification of this point would take us further away from our present intentions.

614 619 701 Security in external relations was attained by the connection with the upper-level units, clan and tribe, and verified by means of their representatives and the contingents of armed men which on special occasions they had to send as irregular tribal troops in a harka, which defended group interests in any revolts or fratricidal struggles.

● 646 619 The representatives of the jma'th in its external relations are locally known by the name of imgharen, and more commonly by the Arabized term aitharbi'in (the forty: sic), because each khums (one-fifth of the tribe) generally provided eight representatives (sic)[10]. These men of the aitharbi'in were generally accompanied by an escort of aith amzzyan (or aith umzzyan?)[11] who officiated both as advisers and as witnesses to the agraw or council meeting where questions of common interest were aired and examined.

721 621 613 When these questions necessitated armed expeditions outside the unit concerned, the (manpower) quota which each jma'th had to provide

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[114] 10--This makes a neat mathematical model, but in practice it is based upon a false premise, as it has been demonstrated previously that the term aitharbi'in refers in fact to "representatives of the people" and that it has nothing whatsoever to do with the notion of "forty".

[114] 11--The concept of aith umzzyan or imzzyanen, "little ones", "minors", as participants in the Rifian political system is, again, erroneous. It is only in the present paper that Blanco introduces the concept in this fashion.

This proves what has been said
554 regarding the treatment of social organization in connection with the
671 ascendency and distinctiveness of the clans, of the suq, a true par-
614 liament, which is attended by the most outstanding men of the clan,
62 tacit or vocal delegates of the jma'ths who form an arictocracy known
623 as the Aitharbi'in, whose circumstantial attendance in some cases
619 forms the agraw, the directing assembly and organism of the tribe.
646

614 This also serves to confirm our opinion that in the Rifian
671 area it is not the tribe which legislates and executes, but the clan,
[619] through its leaders, who parley in the market. It is thus the clan
[554] and its representatives in which all powers are concentrated and only
in case of a decrease in strength do they pay heed to the rest. The
Rifian clan is thus a truly autonomous state. It makes the law and
[681] executes it. Look, for instance, at the division of the fine, how
not a single céntimo goes to the representatives of other clans, even
if they are of the same tribe.

681 Notes 11, 12 and 13, which deal with the division of the fine,
[628] prove many of these notions. The victim or his family does not benefit
from it, for from the beginning his business is individual; a member
of his family (i.e. one of his agnates) will already be designated to
671 avenge him. The law does not punish more than the violation of the
pact, indemnifying those who remain faithful to such violation and saw
628 to its fulfillment. For this reason the perpetrator and his family
[672] (agnates) are punished, while all those who intervene in the service
of justice benefit, for they or their representatives carry it out.
If they get no money, as such, for such services, nobody would be
interested, for in carrying them out, he would not be bothered to